/8 cont./

131 172 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 [162] Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce, [648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full 433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikrin, and others. Many [729] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

• 609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to [911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

Šambioa

/8 cont./

609 Nevertheless, caution must be used in dealing with the Sambioa. To be sure, they will hardly dare to attack well-manned and armed boats, but, in view of the great distance from the landing place to the villages, the traveler who unarmed -- only in this way is he admitted -- visits their huts can get into a very dangerous situation in case of a sudden quarrel.

The reception at the landing places usually makes a most picturesque scene. The naked brown forms stream by in groups, [301] [309] many adventurously painted black and red, the face often daubed with a thick layer of soot, some with a decorative feather diadem on their heads, others with hair hanging down in a long braid and decorated with bunches of arara feathers fluttering in the wind. All [411] are armed with long spears decorated with feathers, clubs, bows, and arrows. The discussion is held in dignified quiet, without wild shouting, the new arrivals first showing the savages their firearms, and expressly any breechloaders /9/ or revolvers, which never fail to make a deep impression. The chief asserts time after time: Karaya amigo tori, ahi mentira não tem! The Karaya is a friend of the White (tori), here there are no lies! And the bartering begins immediately (Pl. IV /see p. 106/, 2).

Once one has won their confidence, the dealings become quite unconstrained, especially with the men and boys. The small children, and especially the young girls, are very shy and usually crawl into a corner of their hut, nervously covering their faces with their hands. A stranger is never troubled by beggars. Thefts, too, are exceedingly rare.

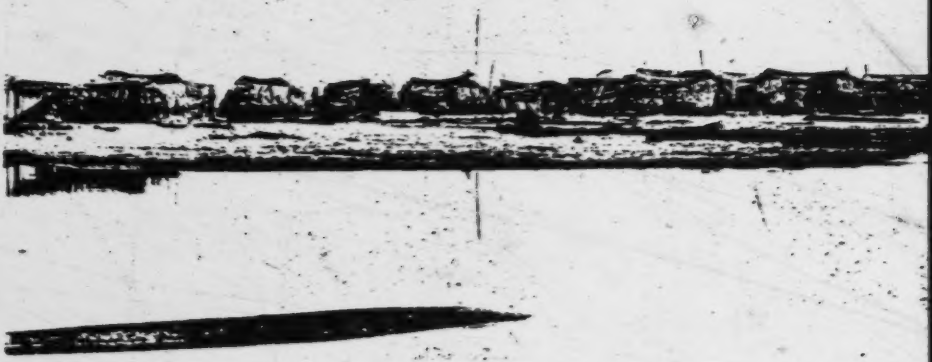
Language.

126 A rather extensive vocabulary, as well as a number of short sentences, was written down, from which, however, little of the grammatical structure of this idiom is evident. The extremely 194 unclear diction of the people, who hardly make any perceptible 126 movement of their lips, their inability to repeat exactly what was said, and finally the swallowing of the final syllables, favored by the abundance of vowels and lingual sounds, make linguistic reception uncommonly difficult.

4: Ehrenreich--106 E-5 (1888) 1891 SP9 Caraja SP9

Plate IV

133
342
361



574
609
501

/200 cont./
514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking
[252] is done outside.

[202] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, /Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a de-
[203] cision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual houses.

Other special houses are:

343 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth
844 is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

346 2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm
513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house,
[209] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before
423 the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are
562 paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction
768 takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on P. 84]

./213 cont./

386
[438]
[415]

Ill. 40.a, b.
Urucú oil-color in trade packaging.

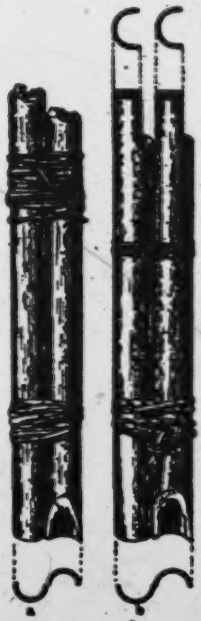
Ill. 41.a, b.
Color bowls.

302 a serpentine line (būltĭ; according to Kuriši,
413 however, naũěkiělāzĭ = ostrich crown-tuft). These stamps are usually only one-sided (Ill. 42a); only once did I come across a two-sided stamp, which at one end bore the serpentine line, at the other two semi-circles, one above the other (Ill. 42b). The boy in Ill. 2 on Plate 38 is painted with the serpentine-line stamp.

302 In the painting we distinguish between full painting and patterning.

[291] The full painting "is their suit of clothes" (Kuriši's statement); "it protects them from mosquitoes just as their suit does for the Christians" (Mauzí's statement).

The patterning, on the other hand, is executed only for special occasions. It is a kind of festive ornamentation. For [609] receiving strangers, for example, the villagers paint themselves with red and black designs; the arriving strangers also paint themselves before they /214/ enter the village, even if they only draw a black eye-band from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred Campo trees.



Ill. 42 a, b.
Genipap stamps.

/243 cont./

241 With the ripening of the foodstuff, the harvest begins. It is not gathered all at once, but rather every two or three days the foodstuffs required for this period are brought in. There are seldom larger supplies on hand in the village. This custom is a great [509] obstacle for a longer stay in the villages, for the Indians /244/ do not leave the villages during the stay of strangers (1), but use up

1. Fonseca already observed this custom in 1773. The Karajá had but little food, because the Chavánte had plundered their plantings and the Karajá therefore did not dare go to their plantings. Nor did they dare go hunting or fishing in Fonseca's presence, nor set out for their plantings with Fonseca's soldiers for fear that he might enter their villages in their absence, which they had refused him up to that time. Rev. trim. 8, p. 385.

their supplies, so that after two days there is nothing more on hand, and the stranger must either donate food or go along to the planting or else depart.

241 285 482 [962] Harvesting is generally done by the women. The harvest is packed into large back-baskets (běhũlě), which are plaited out of two palm fronds in such a way that the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, and the same sides of the fronds, firmly plaited together, form the bottom, while the other sides, plaited by themselves, make the lattice-like edge (Plate 57, Ill. 1; the back-basket is 116 centimeters long, 34 centimeters wide, and 17 centimeters high). Sometimes the lower edge of the back-baskets is likewise firmly plaited (Plate 57, Ill. 2). The back-basket is worn on two shoulder bands and a forehead band of strong bast. It projects very high above the head, and under the heavy burden people walk with the upper part of the body bent far forward and the knees bent, usually leaning on a staff (Plate 15, Ill. 3). The contents are secured with wide bast bands which are laced across the load from edge to edge.

/257 cont./ Much is eaten, but The People do not become fat. While eating, they squat around the pot and spoon out their mush. I could not see that they ate turned away from one another, as Ehrenreich and Königswald state, but the women are usually ashamed to eat in the presence of strangers; and the Indians whom I had with me as companions did not eat my cooking when they came to a strange village

Ill. 100.
Flat ax.

Ill. 101.
Short flat-ax.

Ill. 102.
Stone ax with shaft groove.

with me, but went hungry the whole time, if in the village they did not have relatives who gave them something to eat. And they did not work during the stay in the village. They were ashamed, as they expressed it.

E. Beverages.

In drinking, the Indian is, understandably, very moderate; water serves as the ordinary beverage. Yet they also know how to prepare other drinks, which, however, are usually not intoxicating.

Buriti fruits (ãdehõ) are pounded and mixed with water; the liquid is allowed to settle, the clear liquid is ladled into a tall pot, boiled, allowed to cool, and then drunk. The liquid is said to be dark red and very sweet, but not intoxicating. On festive days large quantities of it are said to be consumed.

Pikí fruits are boiled, crushed, and, stirred with water, put into a pot. The liquid is left standing overnight and is drunk cold the next morning. The pits are dried and eaten later.

/322 cont./

627 the honor remains with her; /323/ it does not pass on to her husband. If the chief has no descendants, the village remains without a head; the only thing to be done then is to train a boy from infancy on for this office. Then the men of the village deliberate, choose a child, go to its mother and ask her whether she will permit her child to become chief. If she gives her consent, the boy is trained for his office, apparently by his father. Thus, for example, the chief of Village 7 had died long ago. His son's name was Cadete; he had three daughters and a son. The son died prematurely, the daughters did not wish to accept the rule; hence there was no chief in this village. "One would first have to be trained for this."

609 [627] Strangers are received and given hospitality by the chief. Good form demands that the stranger receive all kinds of gifts (coconuts, honey, batatas, pots, mats, etc.), in the expectation that he will give lavishly in return. In my camp near the villages I was never alone; rather, there was uninterruptedly, day and night, a watch of two or three youths, sometimes even several, present in the camp. At night they slept beside the fire. Apparently this precaution arose out of a mistrust of strangers. Now, however, the placing of the watch by the very Indians who still observe the old forms is regarded as an honor accorded the strangers, and the honor is particularly great if the chief himself spends the night in the camp of the stranger.

421 Legal affairs. Personal property is already very highly developed. As such they regard: house and boat (both belonging to the woman), weapons, implements, ornaments, and articles of clothing. The food from the plantings is family property; large booty from hunting and fishing is distributed to the entire village. Even small children have their ornaments and toys as property. Only the specific owner decides whether to sell, if it is a child, its parents, usually the mother. Outsiders never interfere in the personal affairs of others.

685 Property violations seldom occur. As far as I was concerned, I observed an attempted theft only once. Thefts seem to extend essentially to produce from the plantings and apparently do not remain concealed for long.

/323 cont./

685 627 remain concealed for long. The injured person complains to the chief; he sends him to the thief with the instruction to demand compensation from him. If the thief refuses, however, the injured one again complains to the chief and may, if the latter agrees, start a "fight" with the former, in other words, demand his rights by force.

687 627 Murders seem to occur, though seldom. The custom of blood vengeance prevails: the relatives of the slain one pursue the murderer everywhere, even into other villages, until they have slain him.

689 Social life. Objectionable elements (boasters, gossipers, quarrelsome persons) are on occasion flogged. Thus, my camarada Pedro II in Village 17 is said to get a beating almost weekly on account of his incredible boasting.

/324/ Malicious elements who, with their quarreling, never leave the village in peace are finally, as Kurišť reported, killed by the others at the command of the chief; their relatives then have no right to take blood vengeance.

565 There are no class distinctions. Women and children captured in war serve as slaves of sorts. On the other hand, there are differences in wealth; there are rich and poor people. "The rich man has everything, axes, knives, pots; the poor one has nothing. He goes to the rich one and says: Give me a pot, an ax. The rich man must give it to him." (Kurišť.)

[622] The chiefs in particular are regarded as rich, and they, indeed, must share their surplus of goods with the poor. Ilk in Village 13 and Crisote in Village 22 were regarded as especially [184] rich. The Indians of the south horde are regarded as poor, and they are in comparison with the north horde, which, in turn, is to be designated as poor in relation to the Šavajé.

609 576 Forms of greeting. If someone comes into a strange village, he remains, with bowed head, in the boat (sta sem vergonha, that is, without shame, as the Indians erroneously said, instead of com v., that is, full of shame) until the others come, greet him, and invite him to come along to the village. Only then do they go on land. This custom was observed in particular among the

/324 cont./

609 576 Indians who were in the service of whites. When I came into a village, my Indians sat motionless in the boat, with bowed heads and disconcerted faces, until the chief of the village had addressed them. During the entire time of my stay in the village they did not lift a hand, nor did they eat any of my cooking, but rather went hungry, if they did not have relatives in the village who provided for them. They were precisely sem vergonha.

576 Upon returning from the journey, they were received with tearful speeches by their female relatives and family (1). During

1. This way of greeting long unseen kin by female relatives is already mentioned by Fonseca in 1773 (Rev. trim. 8, p. 379).

this the two parties seldom look at each other; they often stand one behind the other. The laments are made in a whimpering tone. Suddenly, they stop and converse in an entirely friendly manner with the ones who have returned. Apparently the whole thing is merely ceremony, the exaggeration of which on the part of particular women evoked derisive smiles even among the other Indians.

14. Marriage, Birth, Education, Death.

114 Marriage. I did not witness an engagement or a marriage, so my statements about this are based merely on the accounts of the Indians.

582 The age at which marriage takes place was difficult to determine. Men apparently marry between 17 and 20 years, women sooner, at 14-16. The only obstacle to marriage is the immediate relationship between siblings; cousins, on the other hand, may marry each other. I did not encounter anywhere any suggestion of marriage prohibitions which might perhaps be based on totemism.

584 /325/ The suitor first tries to win over the mother and the other relatives of the girl. The decision rests with the girl herself, however. The mother gives the suitor the answer. According to Pedro, the father-in-law receives presents from the suitor's father,

Brazil.

136 They are as tall as a man, and, standing in line, their uniform black heads, white breasts and long, black legs, gave them a decidedly military appearance. The reflection in the water gave the illusion of a double line. I believe this is the largest bird that flies. It must have a long, clear space or it cannot rise. From standing humped up, like a goose on a cold day, it takes a few hesitating steps, then several determined strides, then breaks into a run, followed by a long series of big jumps and flapping of its huge wings, until, finally, it gets clear of the ground.

114 As we were borne along at night where the river was broad and deep and free of obstructions, all slept, or tried to sleep, excepting one or two watchers. My improvised bed in our large canoe was made of a large, square tin can, the side of a big tin wash-basin and the half of a gourd shell. My companions reclined on similar beds.

609 One obscure night, as we moved silently onward, like a giant phantom, we descried a light some distance ahead and heard Karayá shouting to us from a sand island. Fearing that they might not be friendly, and because of the darkness, our first thought was to pass on and not land where they [226] were. But a moment later, we discovered that they were a friendly fishing party; so we went ashore. As we drew [533] near to land, our Karayá pilot, Pedro Monco, sang one of their familiar tribal songs. It was of a joyful strain, though extremely peculiar, suggesting, somewhat, the running and bleating of a deer. tI is usually sung for the purpose of announcing to those on shore that visitors are arriving, that they are friendly, and that they are happy to meet their friends on land. Our trumpets were also sounded, and I played a hymn on the cornet. Our arrival appeared to give the fishing party much pleasure. The first thing they asked for was manioc meal and fish hooks. They were all in nature's dress, except the captain of the band, who wore a blanket.
262 Soon after we disembarked, which was past midnight, a [252] Karayá appeared with what resembled a skinned cat, and placed it over the fire to broil. "What is this?" I inquired.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

262

"Monkey."
"What are you going to do with him?"
"Eat him—me like him much." [224]
"How did you catch him?"
"Me shoot him with an arrow."

Continuing our voyage at dawn, we encountered before 609
noon another cluster of Karayá huts on a sand island. Before [361]
we could get to shore, the natives ran out into the water [439]
to meet us, and surrounding our canoes, eagerly offered us balls of black beeswax and pottery in trade for what they supposed we had. It was amusing to see a Karayá couple trying to make a trade with our only woman voyager for a man's gauze undershirt. I could not but think of how the poor savage would appear with only that shirt on. He wanted it, [291] he motioned, to shield himself from the cold at night, and from the flies by day.

We passed the next night at another group of huts on [361] the sand. These Karayá who were very cordial, were expecting us for the news of our approach had preceded us; so they gave us a royal welcome. The *mayor of the city*— [622] the chief of the local horde—appeared arrayed in a complete [292] suit of civilian's clothes, consisting of white linen trousers and vest, black coat and hat. These he wore merely as decorations, not as a covering, for these people consider themselves fully and properly dressed without any such apparel. It was a remarkable sight indeed to us to descry in the gloaming, as we approached the land, what appeared to be a well-dressed representative of advanced civilization entirely alone in a remote, howling wilderness, surrounded by nude and painted savages. He had obtained these garments somewhere from a trading boat. We were escorted in state to a large hut [526] where were assembled all the human inhabitants of the island; and after the reception, we witnessed the wrestling game of which the Karayá are very fond, which will be described fully in future pages.

The same night, as I was sleeping soundly in the open 123 air in my hammock, which was swung between two stakes

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

set in the sand with a ridge pole bound to them to hold them in position, I was rudely awakened with, "Arise, Mr. William! It is raining!" Truly, it was raining. So I draped my tent over the ridge pole above the hammock, but having no pins, I could fasten it open only slightly by piling sand on the edges. Wishing to protect our canoe men from the weather, I remarked to one or two that they might lie down inside, under the hammock. My back was turned for a moment, and when I again looked in under my canvas, I found the place packed with Karayá, Cherentes, Africans and Brazilians. This mass of humanity so contaminated the air that I finally slept with my head partly outside. 123

The Karayá hovered about us in their canoes most of the time as we traveled. When possible, we avoided eating our meals at their encampments as we would have to share our food more or less with them, and our supply of rice and manioc meal was scarcely sufficient for our own requirements. Nevertheless a few of them usually contrived to appear among us while we were preparing our food. Late one afternoon as we disembarked for dinner, a cold, drizzling rain was falling and no Karayá were in sight. But, they soon began to appear in twos and threes, as if they had scented us miles away, until finally, a dozen or more were standing around eyeing our boiling pots with hungry looks. The next object that attracted their curious attention after contemplating our dinner, was the young Karayá that had joined us as a paddler at São José. He took very kindly to the shirt and trousers given him, though he would slip out of them most unceremoniously when he wished to drop into the water to secure an oar, for example, that had fallen overboard. At length, he was given a military overcoat with a hood, which he wore when there was rain. Therefore on the occasion just mentioned, he stood near the fire as the twilight deepened, wearing the coat fully buttoned and having the hood drawn over his head, partly obscuring his face. The arriving Karayá seemed at a loss, at first, to determine just what *it* really was, except that a suspicious pair of brown feet and ankles pro- 609

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

truded below the coat. They eyed it carefully from head to foot, riveting their gaze for a moment on the feet, then slyly opened the hood a little to peer in; and when they saw the physiognomy of their savage brother with nearly all the paint wore off, grinning at them from away back in the dark, they were highly amused. 609

A Karayá village we visited near the mouth of the Rio das Mortes—River of the Deaths—is so remote and out of touch with civilization that the inhabitants understand scarcely anything of the Brazilian language. Nor are they cordial to strangers, regarding them, instead, with suspicion, for the reason that they are subject to attacks by the Chavante Indians who live up the Rio das Mortes. While we were calling here, one of the women sought to obtain a shirt from me for her young son. To make me understand what she wanted, she used the sign language, imitating one's movements when a mosquito bites one on the shoulder and he crushes it, the drawing on of a shirt, and the feeling of contentment that "mosquito no bite more." 36 [191] 609 [721] 123 [291] [201]

My umbrella aroused the curiosity of the savages wherever we went. Knowing that it opened somehow, one of them took it once and stood it point downward, apparently expecting it to open. As it did not do so, he passed it to me to show him and his companions how it worked. As I opened it suddenly and it spread its wings, like some old, black goblin about to fly on an evil errand, the women uttered a low scream of fear and surprise. They often felt of my linen coat and trousers, and my shirt, then made signs to me that these articles were very good to protect one from the flies and mosquitoes. They evidently thought that this was my only reason for wearing clothes. They also fingered my hat and boots, and pulled my mustache to ascertain if it were real, or false, and gazed at me as I wrote my journals for writing was a mystery to them. To many of them I was a freak well worth going a long way to see.

The Christmas season occurred while we were in the savage world of the Araguaya. What an extraordinary Christ- 600

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

123 about us, fully armed, maintaining silence and appearing bellicose. At length, the entire band drew off about fifty yards, then began to discharge volleys of blood-curdling yells, such as only wild men or maniacs can utter. Though we had [526] heard these yells before, we did not know if it was "the shout of war," or only a challenge to the wrestling game. Greatly to our relief, it was the latter. We now knew that we were in no immediate danger; though we had felt that as they had not attacked us at first, they would now be loathe to do so openly. After the wrestling game, the savages gradually became friendly to us, and began, at last, to retire to their huts in twos and threes until only a few were near us. The hour was now three A. M., so wrapping my blanket about me, I stretched myself on the sand to sleep a little, though we could not feel sure that we would not be attacked for the sake of our baggage. A party of six Brazilians who were [809] descending the Araguaya some months previous to the time of our trip, were clubbed to death near this place for their baggage.

This was a night of experiences that we shall not soon forget. When we were first surrounded, one of our party, especially, acted very imprudently, though with good intentions: He blew a bugle endeavoring to call to our aid the other canoes which were really far distant from us. This calling for help could accomplish nothing, and but served to excite greater suspicion in the minds of the savages and precipitate an attack. I think I was as much frightened as any one, yet I saw that to retain self-command was far the wisest course to pursue.

513 The sleep of these children of Nature is more like that of
721 the other wild creatures of the woods than of human beings. The night is much the same as the day to them. They are up and down during the night, just as during the day, ever vigilant, and living in constant expectancy of the sudden appearance of an enemy. It is almost impossible to approach their encampment without their knowledge, though one move never so stealthily.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more orderly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located between Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always situated distant from the landing-place, and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

Many

609 of them are painted black and red, and have their faces daubed
[302] with a thick layer of black soot; others wear upon their heads
[301] crowns made of beautiful feathers; while others again, have
[297] their hair braided and decorated with the brilliant crimson
[411] and gold feathers of the macaw. All are armed with spears beautifully decorated with feathers, and with bows and arrows and heavy killing clubs. They present quite a military spectacle.

Disembarking, the first thing the visitors do is to show the savages their arms, especially the repeating rifles, which fill them with awe. The chief now hastens to declare that he and his people are friends of the white man, saying: "The Karayá is the friend of the white man; there is no lie with us," repeating this twice. Confidence established, some trading may be done without difficulty. Small children, and particularly, young girls, are very shy of the strangers, and usually creep into their huts and cover their faces with their hands. The visitor is never troubled by beggars, and rarely has anything stolen from him.

131 The Karayáhy division live along the main stream of the
162 Araguaya between São José and Santa Maria in twelve or
[148] fifteen villages or encampments, one of which, near Santa Maria, was completely wiped out in 1881 by the Kayapó
361 tribe. Their villages are not so clean as those of the Sambiôa, nor are the huts so well constructed.

191 Observing the speech of the Karayá, one can scarcely notice any movement of the lips; nor do they seem able to repeat exactly a sentence just uttered. They have many sounds which they produce with the tongue and swallow the
192 last syllable. Apparently, their speech is not related to any Brazilian aboriginal language. The most remarkable thing about it is that they have one dialect for the men and another for the women; though only a few words are entirely different, and with most of them there is but a slight, unimportant change.

142 Physically, the Karayá are one of the finest of the aboriginal races of Brazil. They are of medium size, slender and

611

611 RULE OF DESCENT--unilinear rules (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal); ambilineal descent (i.e., in each successive generation descent is traced through either parent); bilateral descent (i.e., absence of unilinear emphasis); double descent (i.e., concurrent matrilineal and patrilineal descent); anomalous rules (e.g., sex-linked descent); special exceptions (e.g., ambil-anak or matrilineal descent for one generation in default of direct male heirs); degree of correspondence or divergence between the rule of descent and the recognition of kinship; evidences of former or recent transitions in the rule of descent; etc. See also:

Descent of children in marriages between persons of different castes or social classes . . 56
Rules of succession to authority in the family or household 59
Inheritance rules 428
Allocation of the children of divorced parents . . 586
Rules of residence 891
Succession to chiefship in the community 822
Succession to executive positions in the state . . 63,643
Theory of paternity 843
Social placement of infants 851

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 [773] [774] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 [428] The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 [562] [177] The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

[756] [793] [622] 59 [591] [592] [582] [626] [595] [604] 78 628 [476] Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

/44 cont./

59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible
595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent
583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá
[121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks
615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be-
[114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no
[621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men-
613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family,
596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal
582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups.
[601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belonging [613] to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to [611] suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 601 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not